1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

343 351 361 417 the latter. Somewhere near the dairy will be found a circular enclosure, the buffalo-pen, or *tu*,[1] in which the buffaloes are enclosed at night, and there may be more than one *tu* for use on different occasions or for different kinds of buffalo. There will be a small pen for the calves which is called *kadr* and there may also be a house for the calves (*kwotars*). A small structure called *kush* (? *kudsh*), used as an enclosure for calves less than fifteen days old, may often be seen, situated between the spreading roots of a tree.

312 Close to the village there will be at least one stream (*nipa*), and very often there are two streams. If possible, there should be two streams, in order that one may be used for the sacred purposes of the dairy, the *pali nipa*, while the other is used for household purposes, the *ars nipa*. Where there is only one stream, different parts are used for the two purposes, and the two parts of the stream then receive the names *pali nipa* and *ars nipa*. In this case the *pali nipa* is always above the *ars nipa*, so as to avoid the danger that the water used for the dairy shall have been contaminated by contact with household vessels. At some villages there may even be a third stream, or part of a stream, used in the ordination ceremonies of the dairymen.

It has often been a subject of remark by visitors to the Nilgiri Hills that the Todas have chosen the most beautiful spots for their dwellings, and interest has been taken in the love of beauty in nature which this choice shows. I think there can be little doubt that the choice of suitable dwelling-places has been chiefly determined by the necessity of a good water-supply, and if possible of a double water-supply, and the Todas have chosen the beautiful spots, not because they are beautiful, but because they are well watered. Their choice has been dictated, not by a love of beautiful scenery, but by the practical necessities of their daily life.

363 487 562 In the immediate neighbourhood of a village there are usually well-worn paths by which the village is approached, and some of these paths or *kalvol* receive special names.

[1] Harkness and others have called this pen *tuel*, but repeated inquiry on my part failed to elicit this form of the word. *Tuelu* would mean "where is the *tu*?" and it is possible that Harkness heard the word in this form.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

out to ordinary people (*perol*), or which come into contact with food or other materials obtained from ordinary people. 234 412

The things of the *patatmar* are always kept apart from those of the *ertatmar*. When the buffaloes migrate from one grazing-place to another, the things of the *patatmar* are carried by one man and those of the *ertatmar* by another. 415

In connexion with many dairies there is a house in which calves are kept, the *kwotars*, and a place for very young calves, called *kush* or *kudsh*, which is sometimes partly formed by the spreading roots of a tree. 234 343 417

I am in some doubt as to whether the buffaloes belonging to a village dairy ever have a special *tu* in which they are enclosed for the night. In general, however, there is no doubt that the sacred buffaloes of the dairy occupy the same pen as the ordinary buffaloes. Similarly I am not clear whether the dairy always has its own *irkarmus*, or milking-place, or whether ordinary and sacred buffaloes are not often milked at the same spot, the dairyman recognising the buffaloes committed to his charge and milking them only.

Every dairy has its own place from which water is drawn the *pali nipa*. This may be a different stream from that used for household purposes, but is, perhaps, most commonly part of the same stream, the higher part being used for dairy purposes. When a village has more than one dairy, each dairy has its own place for drawing water, usually different parts of the same stream. 234 312 621

The foregoing account holds good of all kinds of village dairy. The different grades of village dairy present differences in the daily procedure, in the qualifications and rules of conduct of the dairyman, and in other respects. I will begin with the *tarvali* of the Tartharol.

THE TARVALI

This is the name applied to the lowest grade of Tarthar dairy and may mean "the ordinary dairy," the first syllable being probably the same as in the word "Tarthar." 234 463

The *tarvali* is always of the ordinary form and is never called *poh*. The dairyman, or *tarvalikartmokh*, is often 618 621

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

nevertheless I have a considerable degree of confidence in its essential accuracy.

The dairy of a *ti* is always called *poh*, whatever its shape may be, and at those places where there is, or should be, more than one *palol*, each has his own dairy. In these cases the work of one dairy goes on quite independently of the other, each *palol* being only allowed to enter and work in his own building. In addition to the dairy, or dairies, there is at each *ti mad* a hut in which the *palol* and *kaltmokh* sleep and in which the latter takes his food. When there are two *palol*, both sleep in the same hut. There is a house for the calves called *karenpoh*, corresponding to the *kwotars* of the village dairy.

The milking-place of a *ti mad* is called *pepkarmus* instead of *irkarmus*, as at the ordinary dairy, and is usually enclosed so that the buffaloes are screened from the eyes of ordinary people.

There is always one buffalo-pen, or *tu*,[1] for ordinary use, and at some places two others, called *pon tu*, or festival pens, used on the ceremonial occasions of migration from one place to another and of salt-giving.

The surroundings of the dairy are called *pûl*, and there is a special part of the *pûl* to which alone the ordinary Toda is allowed to go, and he may only go there by a special path. Each *ti* dairy which I visited was by the side of a wood and the place for ordinary Todas was in the wood.

At a little distance from the dairy there is the source from which the water for sacred purpose is drawn. This source is called *kwoinir*, and at Môdr, where there was a *kwoinir* for each *palol*, it was a spring built in with stones, and not a stream as at most villages. In addition to the *kwoinir* there is also a stream from which water is taken by the *kaltmokh*, who is not allowed to go to the sacred spring.

There are various stones and other objects of ceremonial importance at most *ti* places, but the description of these may be given with that of the ceremonies in which they play a part.

[1] The proper name for the pen at the *ti* was *mulodr*, and for the calf-pen, *tûlk-kadr*, but my informants always used the ordinary words *tu* and *kadr*.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

618 would thus be twelve *pòlm*. This is not consistent with the
621 information given in connexion with the *pepkaricha* ceremony (see p. 169), from which it appears that there are fifteen heads of families in the Kuudrol. It may be that the *pòlm* and family do not correspond with one another, or there may be some other explanation of the discrepancy.

The following are the chief villages of the Kuudrol :—

Kuudr (Kundakodumand). This is a large village with substantial huts in the Tamil style which have been built by Kuriolv. There is a large dairy, the *tudrpali*, and a smaller dairy, the *kidpali*, in front of it, with two buffalo enclosures (*tu*), one apparently for each dairy. In the large *tu* there are three stones called *keînkars*, *tashtikars* and *mutchudkars*, all of ceremonial importance (see p. 169). Growing in one side of the *tu* there is a tree called *teikhuwadiki*, under which the *mu* is buried.

● [312] As usual, water is taken from two sources, and at Kuudr that used for sacred purposes is drawn from a spring, called *kiznir*. The origin of this spring has been already given in connexion with the prayer of Kuudr, in which this and other events in the history of the village are commemorated. The special relations between Kuudr and Ödr have been already considered in the account of the latter village.

234 *Kiudr* (Kengodumand). This village has a somewhat
621 anomalous position in that, though not the chief village of its
778 clan from the social point of view, it is in many ways more sacred than Kuudr.

[342] It is a very picturesque village, shown in Fig. 7, in which there are two dwelling-huts. That shown in the figure is one of the largest and best constructed of existing Toda huts, having been rebuilt recently under the direction of Kijievan (50), who has a special reputation as an architect. It was at this village that a pregnant woman was not allowed to come to the hut, but had to remain at some little distance, and the sacredness of the hut is also shown by the fact that the prayer of this village provides the only instance in which the *kwarzam* of a hut occurs.

The dairy is situated at some little distance from the huts, quite out of sight of people at the latter. On going from

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

[Melgarsh Village]

614 Tardharsh woman coming out of a post-confinement seclusion hut, per-
554 mission not to shave their heads after funerals as other Tardharsh do, etc., which definitely make them feel apart, if not superior.

361 The name of the clan is derived from that of its chief *mad* which is situated practically within the very town of Ootacamund, in the vicinity
614 of Government House and the Botanical Gardens. Other *mads*, four in
621 number but not always inhabited, are spread out over the Nilgiris, the principal one after Melgarsh proper being Kakhwurkh, south of the Ootacamund-Gudalur road, at the 8¾ mile.

361 The *etumad* (chief village) was chosen as the object of this study, because it was occupied almost exclusively by one family group, whose
621 characteristics made it eminently suitable for the study of polyandry and
[121] of the upbringing of children in so unusual a setting. Situated at an altitude of 7,500 feet, it was a typical Toda settlement, consisting of four houses (*arsh*), a large buffalo pen in which the animals belonging to the various individuals of Melgarsh were kept, and extensive grass
[312] expanse for early and late grazing, a *tarvali* dairy-temple, two water
[244] streams (one for the house, the *ordh* or *arsh nipa*, and one for the temple, the *pali nipa*, as is customary) and a small adjacent potato field which the local government officials had insisted on the Melgarsh people cultivating.

A plan of the *mad* as described above is given in Fig. 18.

621 The family principally in occupation of the *etumad* consisted of three generations of Melgarol, there being two sets of polyandrous fathers, that of the grandfathers and of the fathers and seven small children in the last generation, whose ages ranged from fourteen years to newly born; there were, besides, two pairs of twins among the younger children, each made up of a boy and girl.

The genealogy of these people is given in Table 22.

Living together with this family, and closely related to them, were also other Melgarol, whose houses were, however, not the same. In Table 23 I give the genealogy of Nodzer's descendants, the widow Odzel being a resident of Melgarsh.

Then came the more distant relatives, as shown in Tables 24 and 25.

Now, let me give a short, personal description of each of the individuals living at Melgarsh at the time of my study (in italics in the above genealogical tables). We will begin with the eldest and finish with the more distant relatives also residing in Melgarsh.

[159] (1) Odzel: She is an old lady, very quiet and retiring, the oldest of the *mad*, who mixes very little with the others and spends her days

[text continues on p. 280]

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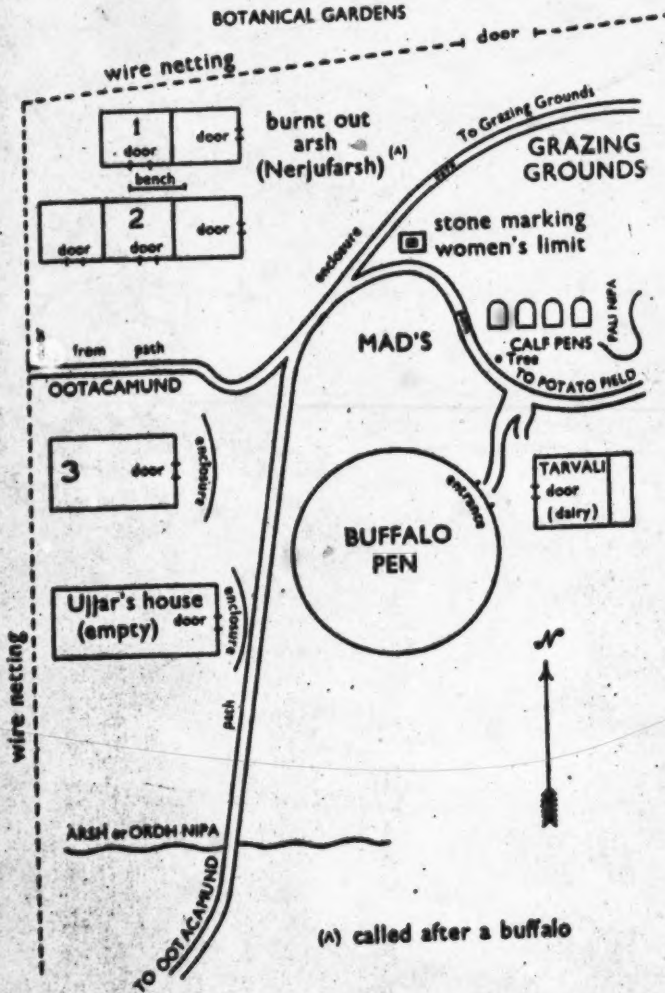

(A) called after a buffalo

Fig. 18. Plan of the Melgarsh *mad*.